/1 cont'd/

were suppressed, the fort of Lo-an was subsequently built. Miao troops of Kwangsi were then sent there as a garrison. They were called yao-kung-shou /"shooters of poison arrows"/. After the military camp fell into disuse, their descendants scattered into the mountains and valleys, but they still bore the name of Miao. Even up to the present, they are still skillful in using poison arrows. The styles of their clothes, shoes, and queues are similar to that of ordinary people /i.e. the Chinese/. The dress of their women, however, are like that of the Li. All of them are able to climb trees like monkeys. They are not subject to taxes or levies of service. They never till the land in the plains but clear in the mountains to make plots where they plant mountain rice. (The Li people also do this.) They move once a year. When the land in the mountains recovers from depletion, they move back again. The bodies of their dead are usually burned or are simply hung on treetops to decompose through exposure. They are experts in making poison arrows. Whatever they shoot dies without shedding a drop of blood. /2/ They also practice sorcery and are able to control human beings and animals by means of amulets. Hence they are greatly feared and respected by both the civilized and uncivilized Li tribes."

In other localities many different names were used such as Lang-mu /"wolf eyes"/, Ta-shou /"attackers"/, and Lang-t'u ping /"soldiers from the land of wolves"/, etc. These probably also indicated the Miao. Wang Tso in his book, P'ing Li Chi /Record of the Suppression of the Li Uprisings/ said:

"...on that day the troops under his command were dispersed to advance to capture a road. He believed that the northern entrance of the head fortress in Hai-t'ien and Hsin-ch'ang was the central stronghold of the bandits. The central army was commanded by Ts'an-chiang* Ma Ch'eng, who ordered 10,000 Han-ta troops and Lang-t'u ping of Liang Kuang /i.e., Kwangtung and Kwangsi/ to attack the central stronghold." (See Vol. 9, "I-wen" /Literary Section/

*/Former title of a lieutenant colonel.—Ed./

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101 Kwangsi, why, after their migration to Hainan Island, did all the
171 local annals, and even they themselves, call them "Miao"? At present, I am still unable to give a satisfactory answer. Perhaps, the Miao and Yao of Kwangsi were originally of the same people but had different names, or perhaps the present Yao of Kwangsi were called Miao in former times. This question already involves all the peoples of southwest China and even becomes an important problem in the history of the Chinese people.

131 Now, let us discuss the geographical distribution of the Miao of
221 Hainan Island. The Annals of Kan-en District /see above/ states:
243 "(The Miao people) never till the land in the plains but clear in the mountains to make plots where they plant mountain rice.... They move once a year. When the land in the mountains recovers from depletion, they move back again." At present the situation is still
166 the same (for details see Chapter 3 of this book). Because of this kind of moving about, it is absolutely impossible for us to study their fixed geographical distribution. As for the distribution of the Miao recorded in the old local annals, in addition to what has already been cited about Tan-chou and Kan-en, (the annals of Ch'iung-chou Fu, Vol. 20, states that there was only one Miao village in Tan-chou, called Ta-shan Miao which was under the jurisdiction of the Li-tsung /magistrate/ of Lung-t'ou-t'ung), the Annals of Ch'iung-chou Prefecture, (Vol. 20) states that there were five Miao villages in Ch'iung-shan district under the jurisdiction of the /9/ chief of the military settlement of T'ung-t'ung. The names of the five villages were as follows:

The Upper Residence of the Miao of Chen-ling
The Lower Residence of the Miao of Chen-ling
The Residence of the Fan-fou Miao
The Upper Residence of the Shui-shang Miao
The Lower Residence of the Shui-shang Miao

131 Since the original reason why the Miao came was for the suppression
175 of the Li uprisings in Lo-huo, Pao-yü, and other t'ungs, and for guarding the military post of Lo-an, Lo-an beyond doubt must have been their first large encampment. Although they subsequently

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131 175 scattered in all directions, yet they could not have all moved away entirely. It is reasonable to assert that a part of them (regardless of how many) must have remained in the original locality. Since Lo-huo, Pao-yü, and other t'ungs of the Li people as well as Lo-an itself were all located within the Yai-chou area during the Ch'ing period, may we not deduce that there were Miao in Yai-chou, although we have failed to find any record of them in the local annals.

This is all that we know about the geographical distribution of the Miao during the Ch'ing period. Now let us discuss their distribution at the present time.

131 166 221 The Miao today, just as in the past, move about irregularly. (I personally saw the entire Miao population in Ta-pen village move to another locality.) Hence, it is also impossible to ascertain the exact areas in which they are distributed now as in the past. It would appear that there are Miao in the three districts of Pao-t'ing, Lo-tung, and Pai-sha, into which the Li area of Hainan has been divided, since traditionally the Li and the Miao have lived mingled with each other. It is said that Pao-t'ing has the largest number. Concerning the distribution of the Miao people in Pao-t'ing district, Wang Fu-shou, a Miao headman /chia-ch'ang, headman of ten families/ gave me the following information:

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Name of Village	Number of Families	Residents' Surnames
Pao-ch'a	10 or more	Wang, P'an, Chang, etc.
Fan-man	8	T'an
Ma-tsui	30 or more	Teng and others
/10/Ch'iang-k'eng	5 to 6	- -
Nan-hao	6 to 7	- -
Mao-chiang	10	P'an
Mao-mai	7 to 8	Shih
Shih-p'an	--	- -
Ang-chi	11 to 12	Lu
Chih-p'o	12	Teng
Nan-ta-t'ung	7 to 8	Huang

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	Miao Words of Yai district	Miao Words of Lin-kao district
one	ji	a
two	in	i
three	dam	to
four	se	ti
five	ngn	ta
six	luk	cho
ear		nann
eye		ngan
mouth		yup
nose		cham

/23/ Chapter III. Economic Conditions

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1. Geographic Environment and Economic Life

The essentials of man's economic life are always inevitably influenced by the geographic environment. This is particularly evident with the Miao. We have already learned that the Miao came to Hainan only in the Ming period. At the time of their arrival, the level areas along the coast were already completely occupied by the Chinese, and they were not able to get a foothold. Moreover, the hilly country in the interior was occupied by the Li, who also left no room for them. As a last resort, therefore, they were forced to live on the upper slopes of the great mountains in the center of Hainan where irrigated rice fields were very rare. This has greatly limited their agricultural development. However, the dense mountain forests are the habitat of birds and wild animals, and in this respect nature is bountiful to the Miao. Hence the Miao have

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133 become especially skilled in hunting. At the same time, the
●221 mountain slopes are very well suited to animal husbandry. Owing to the lack of streams, however, fishing is rather negligible. In general, agriculture—tilling the mountain slopes—remains the
[224] chief aspect of their economic life. Hunting is also very important and, to a lesser extent, animal husbandry, while fishing is of no importance. Their economic life is thus entirely conditioned by geographic factors. We shall discuss this in the following sections.

2. Agriculture

244 There are two different methods of agriculture adopted by the Miao, cultivating level fields and planting the mountain slopes. As we have mentioned before, there is a good deal of mountainous land and few level fields. Therefore, the planting of mountain slopes is the chief /24/ form of agriculture while the cultivation of level rice fields is only secondary.

The work of planting the mountain slopes usually begins in the second month of the lunar year. First, they cut down the trees; then they cease working for a short period to allow the branches to be dried by the sun, after which they burn them; the ashes remaining are a natural fertilizer. Subsequently, they sow the seed in holes dug by spades and hoes. The main crop they cultivate is rice grown on dry land. Corn and beans are also raised on a large scale.
[245] After the seeds are sown, they neither fertilize nor irrigate, and only after the crops are grown is any weeding done. The eighth or ninth month of the same year is usually the time of harvest.

243 Their method of cultivating their level rice fields is almost the
[171] same as that of the Chinese. Cultivation usually begins in early spring. Their tools consist of ploughs and harrows which are drawn
[231] by oxen. Their method of sowing and transplanting the rice sprouts is also the same as the Chinese. However, they pay little attention to fertilizing, irrigation, and weeding. The wet rice fields can be cultivated and harvested twice a year. The first period is from the first month to the fifth month of the lunar year; the second period from the sixth to the ninth month. With dry fields there is

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auspicious. Ming-k'ai had four sons: Lin Te-chen, Lin Te-lung, Lin Te-sheng, and Lin Te-ch'ao. /X-X had only one/* son Lin

/* This paragraph is obviously a repetition of the statement which was cited on p. 4, but the two Chinese texts cited by the author are slightly different./

Lao-chang, who was born at noon time, on the twenty-first day of the seventh month of the year of Keng-sheng; Lin Lao-chang had a son, Lin Sheng-yüan, who was born in the hour of ch'en /7 to 9 A.M./ on the fifteenth day of the third month in the year of Keng-wu."

With this kind of family register, although a family has increased and scattered to different places, the relationship of the family members is maintained without interruption. Consequently, those of the same surname related by blood are forever connected and the awareness of the kin group is very deeply rooted. There were a number of Miao who were able to tell us in great detail about the localities from which they had migrated and distant localities in which they still had many cousins living. The Miao headman, Mr. Wang Fu-shou of Pao-ch'a village in Ta-ch'i, frequently called me lao-tsung /"venerable kinsman"/. /The author, Wang Hsing-jui, has the same surname./ This was an expression of a feeling of kin group relationship. Since the kin group consciousness still exists, it is very natural that the feelings of the people of the same surname thus extend even to those not closely related.

Since their livelihood is chiefly dependent upon farming on the mountain slopes, with great mobility of their population, the body of the kin group can never be permanently /33/ established. As time passes on and as the distance between their homes becomes gradually greater, the originally close blood relationship, therefore, also becomes more and more distant. On the other hand, the relationship between those of different surnames becomes closer

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241 [114] [133] [243] agriculture. After our investigation on the spot we realized that this account was all wrong. What is said in the Gazetteer refers only to one of the methods used by the Miao to cultivate mountainous terrain. The Miao area is all mountainous, hence there is much hilly land and few fields. The usual crops are various cereals, mainly planted on mountain slopes. The inclined field cannot take fertilizers. After three or four years of cultivation, the soil becomes barren. It becomes necessary to use the rotation method, to abandon it and pick new land to develop. This allows the old barren ground to recover its fertility. After three or four years a lush undergrowth gives it the appearance of wild land, which to the Miao indicates the recovery of the land's fertility. When spring comes the Miao fell the trees and brush, let them dry in the field, and then set fire to them. The charred remains and ash are left in the field to be used as fertilizer. This is the so-called slash and burn cultivation, otherwise known as to-yü /"to slash fields which are in the third year of cultivation/, and the field is called a field planted by fire or yü field. In the first year of cultivation the yield is often doubled. The mixed cereals [243] planted includes grain for the most part, maize, /55/ buckwheat, and kaoliang; still next hemp, beans, and pearl barley. [221] The sowing is generally done in April and May, and the harvesting in August and September.

243 [221] Besides the yü fields the Miao also plant plots of land which can be flooded for growing rice. Rice grown in flooded fields is transplanted in April and May and is harvested in August and September. The Miao area is very mountainous and there are very few level areas for rice fields. They are found in small number only in the small basins in the mountains and along the banks of streams and rivers (Illus. 27), the rest being terraced fields (Illus. 28, 29). The land of the [312] basins in the mountains are mainly irrigated by leading water from springs fed by mountain streams. Water wheels (Illus. 30) are used for irrigation in the terraced fields along the streams.(1)

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221 224 [461] Hunting is done by the Meau in all seasons of the year, but especially after the harvest has been brought in and the field work completed, for then they have leisure, whereas the period of field work must be put to good use in order to plant and harvest on time. Nevertheless, I have seen it happen that the passion for hunting induced the Meau to drop their extremely important field work in order to track down a stray elephant bull.

185 224 There are no closed seasons. Literally everything that comes within shooting range of the hunter, male animals as well as females, gravid animals as well as the young, is shot. Thus, it is not at all surprising that /341/ within a short time after the founding of a village the game in the immediate vicinity, and soon in a wider area, is exhausted.

224 The Meau do not practice either hunting drives or communal hunts, but rather only individual hunting. Disguising the hunter in animal skins or masks to deceive the prey is unknown to them. It must be mentioned, however, that in the dense forest area that is available to them in northern Thailand a disguise would be obstructive and unnecessary.

For the individual hunting generally practiced among the Meau, two or three men usually set out together. The hunters, however, do not separate, as in communal hunting, but remain together in order to spring to the aid of one another in case of need. Since in the dense primeval forest a shot can be fired only at close range and the effectiveness of the Meau weapons is very limited in comparison with our hunting guns, it must therefore be assumed that the hunter will be attacked by every large animal that he shoots. The precaution of not going hunting alone is therefore absolutely mandatory, for often enough the companions are lifesavers in that they try to divert the pursuer from their fellow-hunter.

I was repeatedly able to confirm that the Meau know how to meet the dangers associated with this type of hunting. For example, in the company of Meau warriors I came across tree trunks with deep holes in them in three different places in the primeval forest. These were trees behind which the Meau

39: Bernatzik--479 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

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226 [278] ashes into the mass, and pour it all into the inlet of the pools. It takes only a few minutes for the stupefied fish to come to the surface. In a short time, the stream is "cleared" of fish, but not only at this spot, for the poison flowing downstream kills for miles farther on primarily the young fish, for which even the diluted poison is still fatal, though it is no longer dangerous for the larger fish.

[227] Fishing is also done with hooks without barbs and with small hand-nets (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 347), as well as with simple weirs (Fig. 266). The latter are 60 [285] centimeters high and /Fig. 266 appears here/ plaited loosely out of bamboo strips five millimeters wide, so that only larger fish and crabs are caught. The weirs are put in the brooks. This kind of fishing, in contrast to the fishing [857] methods described, plays only a minor role, although the young lads in particular like to practice it. In addition, the Meau are masters at catching fish with their hands. They cautiously probe the hiding places of the fish under the stones and roots and, with lightning speed, seize the animals by their gills as they calmly remain in their hiding places. At [165] this sport, however, many Meau have fallen victim to [136] poisonous water-snakes.

[221] The time for fishing is after the harvest in the dry season. Then the streams have reached their lowest water level, and a narrow channel connects the deep pools where the fish seek safety. Then every fishing method of the Meau, with the exception of angling with hooks, is productive. The latter, on the other hand, is practiced only at the time of rising water, when the clear water is made turbid by downpours.

[184] Fishing baskets, dams, fences, fixed nets or drag nets, [227] fishing spears, and /353/ fishing arrows for crossbows or bows are, like harpoons, unknown to the Meau in Thailand.

Miao AES

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805 114 At any rate, I cannot agree with Savina (4), who writes

4. II, p. 176.

as follows concerning the time reckoning of the Meau: "Do not ask a Meau for a fixed date; he does not know any, not even the day of his birth." Nor was I able to find confirmation for the Chinese assertion that the Meau recognize the seasons of the year, summer and winter. This may be different, however, among the Meau who inhabit the cold northern regions.

805 [527] I was also able to ascertain that the Meau do not have a division of the week, but to make up for that regard the twelfth day after every full moon as /432/ a holiday. On this day, they stay at home, take a rest from their work, and, as a sign of the [778] day of rest, put in front of every house entrance a sacral sign in honor of the spirits (Ill. 97). 1/1 For the Meau of northern Thailand, the observation by Savina (1) that they use the growth

1. II, p. 205.

of plants and the voices of birds as aids for their division of [825] time is very pertinent: "The Meau keep roosters that crow at night. They do not ask how late it is, but rather how many times the cock has crowed. In the morning the women get up [221] at the third crowing." The same author (2) continues: "All

2. II, p. 220.

[824] tasks begin at the same time every year. The Meau do not use any calendar for this, but rely on certain trees and shrubs that [825] bloom regularly at the same time every year. The first singing of the cuckoo is observed throughout the land. 'When the cuckoo sang last year, the maize was higher or lower than it is this year,' they say."

1/1 [see cat 116, p 663 - ANALYST]